1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sarakatsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way to attempt to provoke his desire.

Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded. From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements, if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled. A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect. Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to move about more freely and with less supervision. She must appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή). It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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XI

THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. GOD AND SIN

I DO not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter.

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the villages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern.

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church.

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently

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3. THE WAYS TO GOD

That it is important for the Sarakatsani to be in a right relationship with God, hardly needs to be emphasized. The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow. There are many anxieties; the sickness of children, the diseases of sheep, the scarcity of pasture, social prestige, and personal health. These are matters which concern each family separately, and each family in seeking to enlist God's aid and mercy attempts to establish a particular relation with Him which ignores, in this context, their fellowship with other men. In their simple and frankly pragmatic prayers it does not occur to them to pray for other men, or suffering humanity.

The everyday religious life is essentially a family cult. On a shelf, in the corner of the hut, or in a niche in the wall, are one or often two icons before which stands an open glass oil-lamp. The lamp is lit on the eve of each Sunday or important feast-day and burns through the night. In front of this simple iconostasis each member of the family stands for a moment when he gets up and before he goes to sleep. The adult men, except when they are in trouble, merely cross themselves rapidly three times but the youths and most of the women remain long enough to say a short prayer. Those who know the whole or part of 'Our Father' will recite this to themselves but they will also make some kind of general petition. A mother will say, 'O God protect us, the little ones, and my husband, and give us health and good luck (Θεέ μου νὰ μᾶς φυλάξῃς τὰ μικρά, τὸν ἄντρα μου, νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς γειὰ καὶ καλὴ τύχη).

Through the day a man (or woman) will make the sign of the cross three times when he finds himself in certain situations. A man signs himself when he suddenly confronts some danger; here it is an unspoken prayer for divine aid. He crosses himself before undertaking any important task that without God's protection may not turn out well; an example is the milking of sheep where there is always the fear of a small yield or finding diseased udders; another is the moment of setting out on a journey. After an important task is completed successfully a man again crosses himself to express his gratitude and relief. The sign of the cross is made before the members of the family share in the communion of their common meal. The sign